

Message Text

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SAJ-01 H-03 NSC-07 SS-20 OMB-01 SAM-01 IO-14 OIC-04

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2249

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

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USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 2834

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP

MEETING OF MARCH 28, 1974

1. SUMMARY. AHG CHAIRED BY US REP MET ON MARCH 28 AND DISCUSSED BILATERALS. IT ALSO DEALT WITH DEFINITION OF ISSUES TO INCLUDE IN AN END OF SESSION REPORT TO NAC. FRG REP REPORTED THAT GDR REP TOLD HIM THAT EAST CONSIDERED WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION CONCEPT TO BE UNLIKELY TO EVER REACH FRUITION, BUT THAT THEY HAD RECOGNIZED WEST'S INTEREST IN THE IDEA BY HAVING ONLY "GLOBAL" CEILINGS IN THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL. GDR REP ALSO STATED PARITY EXISTED IN NGA NOW AND THUS COMMON CEILING NOT NECESSARY. GROUP TENTATIVELY APPROVED
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A LIST OF QUESTIONS TO INCLUDE IN END OF SESSION NAC

REPORT. QUESTIONS (TEXT IN SEPTTEL) COVERED ISSUES SUCH AS AIR MANPOWER INCLUSION; EXTENSION OF STABILIZING MEASURES TO NON-US, NON-SOVIET DIRECT PARTICIPANTS; DETAILS FOR NON-CIRCUMVENTION/VERIFICATION; EUROPEAN LIMITED MANPOWER FREEZE; AND PHASE II QUESTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. US/BULGARIAN BILATERAL. US REP GAVE COPIES OF REPORT OF MARCH 27 US-BULGARIAN VILATERAL (VIENNA 2734). GREEK REP, DOUNTAS, ASKED IF BULGARIAN REP, DURING THE CONVERSATION REALLY INDICATED THAT THE INFORMAL SESSIONS WERE LIMITED TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ONLY. GREEK REP REMINDED GROUP OF FACT THAT AT LEAST IN WEST'S VIEW, INFORMAL SESSIONS SHOULD BE OPEN-ENDED AND SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS COULD PARTICIPATE BY REQUEST. US REP ANSWERED THAT THE REPORT ONLY MADE NOTE OF WHAT THE BULGARIAN REP HAD SAID TO HIM ON THE SUBJECT AND HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE ATTITUDE OF THE AD HOC GROUP. CANADIAN REP ALSO ASKED IF BULGARIAN REP CLARIFIED WHAT KIND OF MINISTERS MEETING THE WARSAW PACT WAS PLANNING TO HOLD IN MAY OR JUNE, FOREIGN MINISTER, DEFENSE MINISTER, OR WHAT? US REP REPLIED THT IT WAS NOT CLEAR.

3. FRG/GDR BILATERAL. FRG REP, BEHREND, REPORTED ON MARCH 27 BILATERAL CONVERSATION WITH GDR REP, OESER. BOTH REPS NOTED THAT THEY CONSIDERED THE TALKS TO STILL BE IN EXPLORATORY PHASE. FRG REP HAD QUESTIONED GDR REP AS TO WHAT THE EAST'S FIRST PRIORITY CURRENTLY WAS IN THE TALKS. FRG REP NOTED THAT THE EAST'S FIRST PRIORITY APPEARED TO BE TO HAVE ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TAKE PART IN REDUCTIONS FROM THE BEGINNING. GDR REP REPLIED THT HE THOUGHT WEST'S FIRST PRIORITY WAS TO LIMIT REDUCTIONS TO LAND FORCES. GDR REP COMMENTED ON EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION DEVELOPMENTS, SAYING HE THOUGHT THAT THEY WERE OVER-RATED, NOT A VERY GOOD IDEA, AND PROBABLY NEVER WOULD ACTUALLY COME ABOUT. HE INDICATED THAT THE CONCEPT SEEMED TO HIM TO BE A VERY STRONG EMOTIONAL ISSUE IN THE WEST AND THAT, THEREFORE, THE EAST, IN THEIR PROPOSALS, HAD TAKEN ACCOUNT OF THE DEFENSE COMMUNITY CONCEPT AND OFFERED ONLY A GLOBAL CEILING AS PART OF THEIR SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL. CONFIDENTIAL

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THE EAST WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT THE WEST HAD NOT RECOGNIZED THIS FLEXIBILITY AND RESPONDED IN KIND. FRG REP MENTIONED THE KHLESTOV STATEMENT FROM THE MARCH 25 INFORMAL SESSION IN WHICH HE INDICATED THAT THE TIMING/ PHASING IN A SYMBOLIC REDUCTION MIGHT BE FLEXIBLE. GDR REP RESPONDED THAT KHLESTOV HAD BEEN MISUNDERSTOOD, AND HAD BEEN CORRECTED AT THE MEETING TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS MUST TAKE PART IN THE REDUCTIONS

FROM THE START. FRG REP COMMENTED THAT FOR A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD THE EAST HAD NOT RESPONDED NEGATIVELY ON THE CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING, AND THAT THEREFORE THE WEST HAD BEEN SURPRISED RECENTLY BY THEIR REPEATED REJECTION OF THE CONCEPT. GDR REP ANSWERED THAT IT HAD BEEN A MISTAKE ON WEST'S PART IF EARLIER ALLIED REPS HAD THOUGHT EAST COULD ACCEPT THE COMMON CEILING. EASTERN REPS HAD FELT THAT THEIR CRITICISM OF THE DISPARITY CONCEPT HAD BY CLEAR INFERENCE INDICATED THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE COMMON CEILING, SINCE DISPARITIES WERE THE BASIS OF WEST'S ARGUMENTS FOR A COMMON CEILING. WHEN FRG REP ASKED GDR REP SPECIFICALLY WHAT EAST DID NOT LIKE ABOUT THE COMMON CEILING, GDR REP REPLIED THAT, IN THE EAST'S OPINION, PARITY ALREADY EXISTS IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

4. BELGIAN/ROMANIAN BILATERAL. BELGIAN REP, ADRIAENSSEN, REPORTED ON A SHORT BILATERAL HE HAD WITH ROMANIAN REP POPESCU ON MARCH 28 IN WHICH POPESCU STATED THAT HE WAS ANTICIPATING A DEBRIEFING ON THE MARCH 25 INFORMAL MEETING FROM THE FRG REP, AND THAT HE HOPED THE WEST WOULD DEBRIEF HIM AFTER EACH INFORMAL SESSION. ROMANIAN REP ALSO NOTED THAT IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION FROM KHLESTOV'S BRIEFING ON THE MARCH 25 INFORMAL SESSION, THAT WESTERN REPS HAD ACCEPTED THE SYMBOLIC APPROACH AND WOULD LIMIT DISCUSSIONS IN THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSION TO THE SYMBOLIC APPROACH AND TO FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS. BELGIAN REP EXPLAINED TO HIM THIS WAS CORRECT.

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2250
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION NATO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 2834

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

5. DATE OF INFORMAL. US REP REPORTED TO GROUP THAT HE HAD TALKED, AFTER THE MARCH 28 PLENARY, WITH EASTERN REPS ON TIMING OF NEXT INFORMAL AND THAT THEY HAD AGREED THAT THE NEXT INFORMAL WOULD BE HELD ON MORNING OF APRIL 1. HE ANNOUNCED, IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN, THAT THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS AT THE APRIL 1 INFORMAL SHOULD BE US, FRG, AND BELGIAN REPS.

6. REPORT TO NAC. CHAIRMAN THEN ASKED CANADIAN DEP REP TO INTRODUCE THE DRAFTING GROUPS'S DRAFT FOR PART TWO OF THE PENDING END OF SESSION REPORT TO NAC. CANADIAN DEP REP INDICATED THAT THE UK DELEGATION HAD INITIALLY DRAFTED A PAPER AND THAT HE WAS HAPPY TO REPORT THAT THE DRAFTING GROUP HAD MADE NO SUBSTANTIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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CHANGES TO THE UK INITIAL DRAFT. HE ADDED THAT THE DRAFTING GROUP UNANIMOUSLY SUPPORTED THE CONCEPT OF NOTING DATES BY WHICH ISSUES NOTED SHOULD BE ANSWEREED. CANADIAN DEP REP ALSO NOTED THAT A FINAL QUESTION HAD BEEN ADDED TO THE DRAFT REPORT BASED ON THE AD HOC GROUP'S DISCUSSION ON MARCH 27 ON THE ISSUE OF INCLUDING OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN STABILIZING MEASURES.

7. GROUP THEN BEGAN DISCUSSION OF QUESTIONS IN THE DRAFT. GREEK REP MADE NOTE OF THANKING DRAFTERS FOR THE GOOD JOB THEY DID ON A PARAGRAPH CONCERNING SECURITY OF THE FLANK STATES.

8. US DEP REP COMMENTED THAT A QUESTION ABOUT POSSIBLE ASSURANCES THAT ALL NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS WAS RAHTER ABSTRACT. HE SUGGESTED THE GROUP SHOULD ADD MORE SUBSTANCE TO WHAT THEY HAD IN MIND AS A QUID PRO QUO.

UK REP ROSE, SAID HE DID NOT CONCUR, THAT HE HAD SOME DOUBTS ABOUT INCLUDING THIS QUESTION ANYHOW AND THAT ANY CHANGE TO IT WOULD MAKE HIM LEAN TOWARD WITHDRAWING IT FROM THE LIST. HE SAID THAT THE INTRODUCTION TO THE SECTION INCLUDED A COMMENT THAT ON ALL OF THE QUESTIONS THE WEST WOULD OBVIOUSLY SEEK A QUID PRO QUO FROM THE OTHER SIDE AND THAT TO ADD THE SPECIFIC QUID PRO QUO WE HAD IN MIND FOR ONE QUESTION, BUT NOT FOR THE OTHERS, WOULD DISTORT THE REST OF THE PAPER. GROUP AGREED NOT TO LIST QUID PRO QUO'S DESIRED ON ANY OF THE QUESTIONS.

9. GROUP CONSIDERED WHETHER OR NOT TO RETAIN A QUESTION ON INCLUDING AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE COMMON CEILING. SOME MEMBERS OF THE DRAFTING GROUP HAD FELT THAT SINCE THE NAC WAS ALREADY CONSIDERING THIS PROBLEM IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO INCLUDE THE QUESTION. ITALIAN REP, CAGIATI, INDICATED THAT SINCE WE HAD NOT YET RECEIVED AN ANSWER ON THE ISSUE FROM THE NAC, AND THE ISSUE WAS STILL PERTINENT, IT SHOULD BE INCLUDED. GROUP AGREED AND DECIDED TO NOTE IN THE QUESTION THAT THE ISSUE HAD ONLY BEEN RAISED ONCE, AND EVEN THEN ONLY INFORMALLY DURING A BILATERAL BY A MEMBER OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION.
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10. GROUP DECIDED TO INCLUDE A QUESTION ON BROADENING STABILIZING MEASURES TO INCLUDE OTHER WESTERN PARTICIPANTS. HOWEVER, QUESTION IS CAVEATED WITH THE POINT THAT NAC SHOULD CONSIDER THIS QUESTION FOR LONGER TERM STUDY BY THE COUNCIL.

11. GREEK REP ASKED IF REPORT WAS BEING DESIGNED TO BE SENT BOTH TO COUNCIL AND TO CAPITALS. CANADIAN REP INDICATED THAT PREVIOUS PRACTICE HAD BEEN TO SUBMIT THE REPORT TO NAC, BUT THAT IT WOULD THEN BE SIMULTANEOUSLY TRANSMITTED TO NATO CAPITALS BY NATO. CANADIAN REP SAID HE WANTED TO THANK THE DRAFTING GROUP FOR THEIR EXCELLENT FJOB. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD BEEN THE FIRST TO SUGGEST THAT A SECTION ON "QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED" BE INCLUDED IN THE REPORT, AND THAT HE WAS SURE HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD BE VERY PLEASED THAT THE GROUP WAS REACHING A CONSENSUS TO INCLUDE QUESTIONS IN SUCH A REPORT.

12. DRAFT QUESTIONS WERE TENTATIVELY APPROVED SUBJECT TO REVIEW AS OTHER SECTIONS OF THE REPORT ARE APPROVED. CHAIRMAN CONVENED NEXT MEETING FOR MORNING OF MARCH 29.
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